

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01 AID-05 OMB-01 EB-07 /101 W

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R 051512Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6949

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION OECD PARIS UNN

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1208

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, SW

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: SWEDISH MULTILATERAL INTERESTS

REF: STATE 37591, STATE 37592, STOCKHOLM 893 (NOTAL)

FOLLOWING ARE REPLIES TO QUESTIONS IN PARAGRAPH 7 OF
STATE 37591:

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1A. SWEDEN'S MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES ARE:

--TO PROMOTE WORLDWIDE AND REGIONAL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN WHICH SWEDES CAN LIVE IN PEACE AND PROSPER ECONOMICALLY, ESPECIALLY THROUGH EXPANDING TRADE ADVANTAGES AND INVESTMENT IN FOREIGN MARKETS;

-- TO ENHANCE THE IMAGE AND CREDIBILITY OF SWEDEN AS A MIDDLE POWER DETERMINED TO REMAIN NON-ALIGNED IN PEACETIME, NEUTRAL IN WARTIME;

-- TO ENHANCE THE IMAGE AND REPUTATION OF SWEDEN AS A STATE THAT COMBINES SOCIAL WELFARE PRIORITIES WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE INCENTIVES IN WAYS THAT DISTINGUISH THE SWEDISH WAY FROM THE COMMUNIST WAYS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CAPITALIST WAYS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE GOS INTERPRETS THESE INTERESTS AS REQUIRING THAT SWEDEN SEEK TO (1) REMAIN ON GOOD, BUT BY NO MEANS PERFECT, TERMS WITH THE US AND THE USSR, AND (2) CATER CONSPICUOUSLY TO OPINIONS AND POSITIONS BACKED BY THE MAJORITY OF SMALL STATES AND ESPECIALLY THOSE THIRD-WORLD GOVERNMENTS CALLING THEMSELVES "SOCIALIST" OR "PROGRESSIVE". THE TRADITIONAL SWEDISH TACTIC, INCREASINGLY QUESTIONED IN STOCKHOLM, IS TO ABSTAIN WHERE SWEDEN HAS FRIENDS (OR CLIENTS) ON BOTH SIDES OF AN ISSUE. THE GOS KEEPS IN MIND CERTAIN PRACTICAL OBJECTIVES IN RELATIONS WITH BOTH INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: TO ENSURE EXPANDING MARKETS FOR SWEDISH EXPORTERS AND DEPENDABLE SUPPLIERS OF BOTH RAW MATERIALS AND SOPHISTICATED WARES; TO CATER ESPECIALLY TO COUNTRIES WHERE POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS HANDICAP US COMPETITORS (E.G. ALGERIA, CUBA, VIETNAM); TO NEUTRALIZE LEFTWING SWEDISH POLITICAL FACTIONS THAT ARE MORE VOCAL AND AGGRESSIVE THAN SWEDISH MODERATES AND CONSERVATIVES.

SWEDEN PROMOTES ITS MULTILATERAL INTERESTS IN THE FOLLOWING MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS:

--THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, ESPECIALLY THE IMF AND IBRD;

-- THE NORDIC COUNCIL AND ITS AFFILIATED COMMITTEES FOR CONCERTING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES WITH NORWAY, DENMARK, FINLAND, AND ICELAND;

-- THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN PARIS;

-- THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE;
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-- THE EUROPEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION;

-- THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL;

-- THE INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY;

-- THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION;

-- THE INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION;

-- THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN STRASBOURG.

IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS, SWEDEN SELECTIVELY CONCENTRATES ITS BEST RESOURCES ON ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL, TRADE,

DEVELOPMENT AID, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND ON THE PEACE-KEEPING ROLE OF
UN FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND CYPRUS.

B. CONSULTATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. SWEDEN TAKES INTO
PARTICULAR ACCOUNT THE POSITIONS OF FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE
NORDIC COUNCIL, THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC
COMMUNITY, STATES GOVERNED BY PARTIES BELONGING TO THE
SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVING
REPUTATIONS AS "PROGRESSIVE." AT THE SAME TIME, TO PRESERVE
ITS CREDIBILITY AS NON-ALIGNED, SWEDEN CONCERTS WITH OTHER
POWERS AS INCONSPICUOUSLY AS POSSIBLE, OFTEN ONLY TACITLY.
AMONG COUNTRIES COVERED BY THESE PARTICULAR CATEGORIES,
COUNTRIES WHOSE POSITIONS ARE LIKELY TO INFLUENCE OR BE
INFLUENCED BY SWEDISH POSITIONS INCLUDE FRANCE, CANADA, THE
NETHERLANDS, AUSTRALIA, AND IRELAND. PERHAPS MORE ACCURATELY
STATED, SWEDEN, LIKE EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES, DOES WHAT IT
WANTS TO FOR ITS OWN REASONS BUT OFTEN FINDS IT EXPEDIENT TO
RANGE ITSELF WITH WHAT IT CONSIDERS GOOD COMPANY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 1208

C. INSTRUCTION AND CONTROL. THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT FULLY INSTRUCTS AND EFFECTIVELY CONTROLS ITS DELEGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MEETINGS. SWEDISH DELEGATIONS ENJOY ENOUGH LATITUDE TO MAKE DECISIONS ON THE SPOT IN MATTERS NOT INVOLVING CHANGE IN ESTABLISHED SWEDISH POLICY OR HAVING IMPORTANT DOMESTIC SWEDISH POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS. INTERACTION BETWEEN STOCKHOLM AND SUCH MULTILATERAL CENTERS AS NEW YORK AND GENEVA IS TIMELY AND EFFICIENT, WITH CONSIDERABLE EMPHASIS CONFIDENTIAL

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ON THE TELEPHONE.

D. INDEPENDENT REPRESENTATIVES OR DELEGATES. SWEDISH PERMREPS AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS DO NOT HAVE ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER. THE GOS HAS NO SIGNIFICANT DIFFICULTY IN CONTROLLING AND INSTRUCTING THEM.

E. RECEPTIVITY TO US REPRESENTATIONS. THE PECULIARITY OF SWEDISH RECEPTIVITY TO US POSITIONS IS THAT SWEDEN WILL NORMALLY GIVE VERY CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT TO US POSITIONS, BUT THIS WEIGHT WILL DEPEND VERY LITTLE ON WHETHER EMBASSY STOCKHOLM MAKES REPRESENTATIONS TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON THE ISSUE.

AS AN INDUSTRIALIZED WESTERN DEMOCRACY, PARTICULARLY DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN TRADE AND THE AVOIDANCE OF CONFLICT, SWEDEN GENERALLY SHARES THE BROAD OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH BOTH COUNTRIES BELONG. NEVERTHELESS, THE SWEDISH POLICY EMPHASIS ON NON-ALIGNMENT INEVITABLY DISPOSES THE GOS TO ADOPT, ON OCCASION, POSITIONS VISIBLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES AND, WHERE THE SAME POSITIONS ARE IN FACT ADOPTED, TO AVOID APPEARING TO HAVE ADOPTED A POSITION UNDER US URGING.

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT FACTORS BEARING ON THE SWEDISH-US DIALOGUE IN MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS IS THE SWEDISH CONVICTION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS LITTLE, IF ANY, BILATERAL LEVERAGE WITH WHICH TO PRESSURE SWEDEN IN MATTERS WHERE SWEDEN PERCEIVES IT HAS INTERESTS DIFFERENT THAN THE US. IN TRADE, FOR EMAMPLE, SWEDEN BUYS MORE FROM US THAN WE DO FROM SWEDEN, AND DOUBTS THAT THE USG HAS MUCH INFLUENCE ON US TRADERS.

FOR ITS PART, THE GOS CONSISTENTLY AVOIDS SOLICITING US GOVERNMENT SUPPORT, I.E. GOING INTO DEBT TO US, THROUGH EMBASSY STOCKHOLM OR OTHERWISE, ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE

OR ON ITS GENERAL APPROACH TO, AND PRIORITIES IN, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

2. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. THE US INTEREST IN MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS WILL BE BEST SERVED BY INSURING THAT SWEDEN'S MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND ITS DELEGATIONS ABROAD ARE FULLY AND FACTUALLY AWARE OF US POSITIONS AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE US FEELS THAT ITS DIRECT AND VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE IN ANY GIVEN ISSUE. THIS DONE, PLEADING, URGING, OR THREATENING, IS LIKELY TO APPEAR WEARISOME AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.
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IF WE CONSIDER IT EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT SWEDEN SUPPORT A US POSITION IT MIGHT NOT OTHERWISE READILY SUPPORT, IT MAY WELL BE NECESSARY TO OFFER A TRADE OFF, AS, FOR EXAMPLE, INDUCE THE RELUCTANT MEMBERSHIP OF THE "INNER SEVEN" OF NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT EXPORTERS TO ADMIT SWEDEN INTO THEIR LONDON DELIBERATIONS, OR SUPPORT SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE CIEC IN RETURN FOR SWEDISH AGREEMENT TO ACCEPT THE MINIMUM SUPPORT PRICE CONCEPT IN THE IEA.
FINALLY, THE GOS ESPECIALLY WELCOMES ANNUAL VISITS TO STOCKHOLM BY A HIGH-LEVEL DEPARTMENT OF STATE OR US OFFICER ABLE TO MAKE A TOUR D'HORIZON OF MAJOR MULTILATERAL ISSUES.
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